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PERFECTIVE PARTICIPIALS IN HINDI.

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THIS PAPER DISCUSSES THE HINDI LANGUAGE SYNTAX OF PERFECTIVE PARTICIPIAL FORMS AS ADJECTIVES AND AS PARTICIPLES OF SEVERAL VARIETIES. THE FIRST PART OF THE REPORT DISTINGUISHES AND DESCRIBES EIGHT KINDS OF PARTICIPIAL USAGE AND SUGGESTS MORE GENERAL RULES FOR ANALYZING THESE USES. THE SECOND PART OFFERS A GENERATIVE DESCRIPTION OF THE SAME DATA. (GD)

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Title

Perfective Participials in Hindi

This paper takes up the syntax of perfective participial forms in Hindi: as adjectives - both attributive and predicative, as 'adjectival complements' and as participles of several kinds. The first section distinguishes and describes eight kinds of participial usage, and then proposes more general rules for analysing these. The second part offers a generative description of the same data which, however, presupposes more previous analysis than has actually been made, so that various characteristics of the Hindi kernel are assumed without as yet being demonstrable - by the author.

Most of the symbols and abbrieviations are those of our earlier paper on imperfective participials. The rules here are somewhat parallel to those in the earlier paper and, as in that paper, have to do with concord or its absence, the ellipsis of H (huaa, hue, huii), the expansion of single verb stems to double stems, the embedding of kernel sentences as participial phrases in sentences having particular coocurrence restrictions - but not (as in the earlier paper) with the emphatics, and with the negative <u>binaa</u> (there are no analogous negatives in the imperfective participial phrases).

The first usage to be distinguished is that of the prenominal attributive or (nonprenominal) predicative adjective with or without H. The adjectival participial (which includes the H) is in concord with its noun referent, and both these adjectival usages (attributive and predicative) can be considered to be transforms of kernel verb sentences of the form

$$N_X \; V_+ \Longrightarrow V \text{-adj}_{ppp}\langle H \rangle \; N_X$$

E.g., <u>aam</u> <u>saRe</u>[1] $\Longrightarrow$ <u>saRe</u> (<u>hue</u>) <u>aam</u>.

The transform is a noun phrase with the participial as a

prenominal adjective. An example of an output of an embedding yielding a predicative adjective is aam saRe hue hãĩ. These participial adjectives are characteristically adjectival in their syntax. Note that adjectives can be clearly distinguished from verbals in that the former do not take H in these constructions, thus acche aam and aam acche hãĩ, but not - with this construction (or, if you like, with this H) - *acche hue aam or *aam acche hue hãĩ. Note that the latter forms can occur (although not very comfortably with the adjective selected for the examples, acchaa 'good') but acche hue and saRe hue are syntactically different. This first usage - the participial as concordant adjective - is a transform of a kernel sentence with intransitive verb where the transform has the participial adjective modifying 'its' noun subject of the transformed kernel sentence.

The second usage has a transitive verb and its object in the kernel sentence and the transform to noun phrase as follows:

$$N^1_{sj} \quad N^2_{oj}\langle\text{-ko}\rangle \quad V_{tr} \quad \Longrightarrow \quad N^1\text{-kaa V-adj } \langle H\rangle\ N^2$$

Ex. mãĩ ne khaanaa khaayaa meraa khaayaa (huaa) khaa...

The concord is as above, and similarly, a (similarly concordant) predicative adjective embedding can be derived.

The third usage - similar to the first two in concord - derives a noun phrase transform from a Kernel verb sentence with an intransitive verb (of a certain class) with its N-pp complement.

$$N^1_{sj} \quad N^2\text{-pp } V_{in_x} + \quad \Longrightarrow \quad N^1\text{-kaa V-adj } \langle H\rangle\ N^2$$

Ex. mãĩ raaste-$\begin{pmatrix}\text{par}\\ \text{se}\end{pmatrix}$calaa meraa calaa $\langle$huaa$\rangle$ mastaa

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1 Glosses for these sentences are given at the end of the paper

The set of intransitive verbs V_{in_X} consists of 'verbs of continuing motion' : calnaa 'to go' (roughly), tairnaa 'to swim', ghuumnaa 'to wander, stroll', guzarnaa 'to pass (by)', etc.

These first three usages can all be characterised as concordant verbal adjectives. They are necessarily concordant with their referent nouns, can take H optionally, and can be expanded to 'double verb' adjectives (other than those just noted, where H includes the second verbstem) where $V^2 = V^1$. Where $V^2 = V^1$ (as in the rules given for imperfective participial phrases) - e.g., in baiThe baiThe we have a participial phrase not transformable into an adjective. The adjectival usages that might seem to be such transforms - baiThe baiThe log, which is like choTe choTe bacce - are 'distributive adjectives' and not simply derived from participial phrases, since participial phrases for the non-verbally derived adjectives do not exist. The possibilities for double V stems, the, - apart from ho-(in H) - are an echo doubling, V^e, and a dvandva doubling, V^2. As with imperfective participials, two verb stems is the maximum number permitted; thus H cannot follow a double stem. Double verbstem adjectives are somewhat more common and more comfortable in predicative usage than they are in attributive.

One idiomatic and productive echo doubling of a past participial adjective is exemplified in such sentences as yah raastaa meraa dekhaa-dikhaayaa hai. These sentences must be derived from a single kernel with the verb V_1 (here dekhnaa), since (for some dialects of Hindi) V^2 never occurs apart from V_1 (e.g. khaa-khuu-) and, in those dialects where V^2 is always an occurrent form - a causative, usually - the sentences from which the embedding would have to be derived are impossible, e.g., yah raastaa meraa calaa- calaayaa hai if so derived would require an impossible kernel sentence *mãĩ ne raastaa calaayaa.

A fourth usage is the following:

a) N^1_{sj} N^2-pp V^{in} + $\Longrightarrow$ N^2 V^{in} adj-e N^1

b) N^1_{sj} $N^2_{oj}\langle$-ko$\rangle$ V^{tr} + $\Longrightarrow$ N^2 V^{tr}-adj-e N^1

Ex. a) mahandii haath mẽ racii. mahandii race haath

b) haath ne chaRii ⟨ko⟩ uThaayaa chaRii ⟨ko⟩ uThaae haath

Note that the -e in V -adj-e indicates the invariant (non-concordant) participial marker. Not concord, but the absence of concord will be indicated here. Concord is not found (in a generative presentation, is deleted) where a noun from the kernel sentence (with or without ko where the noun is the object of the verb in the kernel sentence) preceded the participial verbal adjective. This suggests a possible derivation from a (non-concordant, invariant) participial phrase.

The fact that H is possible in these adjectivised verbals, but 'not comfortable' also suggests the utility of a derivation from a participial phrase, similarly the nonceness of other verbstem doublings. There are selection limitations on the verbs occurring as participial adjectives in these transformations - both on the V^{in} and on the V^{tr} : these are verbs of 'continuing action-or-effect'. In these examples uThaanaa 'to raise (and keep raised)' racnaa 'to smear (and remain smeared)'.

The fifth usage is that usually described as 'adjective complementation.' The problems are those of concord, since we find such sentences as:

1) mãĩ ne laRkii ko baiThii paayaa
2) mãĩ ne laRkii ko baiThaa paayaa (less common; absent in certain dialects)
3) mãĩ ne laRkii ko baiThe paayaa

all meaning, 'I found the girl sitting down (or 'seated')', and used similarly.

The first example is derived from an adjectival - either attributive or predicative - use of baiThii which is in concord with laRkii. The second type of concord or '-ko concord' has the adjective complement baiThaa 'agreeing with laRkii-ko', i.e. taking the 'neutral' marker -aa as does the verb paa- in this sentence. The third case, baiThe is incorporatedinterpreted as non-concordant, and is derived from an invariant participial phrase 'adjectivised' or embedded as an adjective complement. Note - in support of this view - the fact that the first two (concord) types are also found for simple (non-participial) adjectives, but the third is not. Thus:

mãĩ ne laṛki ko	(bahraa) (bahrii) (*bahre)	paayaa.	'I found the girl (to be) deaf'

The selection of the finite verb in these embedding sentences if limited to a small set of 'container verbs', e.g., paanaa 'to find', dekhnaa 'to see', samajhnaa 'to understand (..to be)', sunnaa 'to hear', bataanaa 'to say (..to be)', etc. These are verbs of 'quoting' and 'perceiving', with the embedded sentence as an object of the embedding sentence. Thus, in the above sentence, K1 (the embedded sentence) vah baiThii (hai) 'She sat down' or "was seated' and K2 mãĩ ne use paayaa 'I found it.'

Note that all the usage so far discussed are 'adjectival' in that they cannot be negated separately, i.e. aparat from the noun phrase they belong to. The fifth usage is like the four earlier ones in taking double verbstems, H and the others (V^e and V^2).

For both 'concordant forms' - baiṭhaa and baiṭhii in the examples above - the characteristically verbal (and non-adjectival) V^1 V^1 repetition is found rarely and is 'uncomfortable'; it is quite normal and acceptable, however, to double the invariant form baiṭhe.

The sixth usage is exemplified in such sentences as us ko nahaae, do mahiine ho gae and us ko dillii gae, do

mahiine ho gae. nahaae and soe are invariant participles.

The finite verb in these sentences must be a 'verb denoting the passage of time' - necessarily intransitive - e.g. honaa 'to be, become, to pass (of time)', biitnaa 'to pass', nikalnaa, etc. All these verbs require a noun complement with -ko (a 'quasi-subject'). These sentences have 'negative meaning' and can take the negative binaa, the resulting sentences having essentially the same meanings as those without binaa. Thus us ko nahaae do mahiine ho gae or us ko binaa nahaae do mahiine ho gae both mean 'He/she hasn't bathed for two months' or 'It's been two months since he/she bathed.'

The semantics is further complicated by other characteristics of the participial verbstems. Thus, the sentence above us ko dillii gae, do mahiine ho gae is ambiguous (as is the English translation). It can mean 'It's been two months since he went to Delhi (i.e. he left for Delhi two months ago)' or 'It's been two months since he went to Delhi (i.e. he hasn't gone to Delhi (and is here, or, at any rate. not in Delhi) for two months). Only one meaning - that analogous to the second for the sentence about going to Delhi - is possible for the other sample sentence 'He hasn't bathed for two months'. For jaanaa 'to go' the 'state of the subject with respect to the action' can vary: the subject can have performed the action (going to Delhi) which action and/or its effects is continuing, or he can have performed it at some previous time, but with no current effect (i.e., 'his still being in Delhi'). For the sentence about bathing, the meaning of his having bathed two months ago with continuing effect (of being bathed, i.e., clean) is ruled out by the language.

These verbs (i.e. these participial phrases) can be negated by binaa, although there are complications and different selection restrictions depending on the verb selection of the verbstem of the participle; thus for the sentence with jaanaa a negation with binaa is not possible

for reasons which are not clear as yet, but for the nahaanaa example above it is possible. Note also that the subject of the kernel sentence embedded is transformed to N-ke; presumably, first to N-kaa and then by a later concord rule regarding the participle to N-ke. Both the invariance (and -e termination) of the participle and the negation with binaa (and the N-kaa transform of the subject of the embedded kernel sentence) characteristic of N-pp adverbial phrases, where the N can be a simple noun or a verbal noun (e.g., an infinitive). General rules can be given for adverbial phrases of this sort accounting for the invariance (and the marker -e), the use of binaa, and the N-kaa transform of the embedded kernel noun subject.

These participles can take H - are more comfortable with H - but not other double stems very productively, but can take the V^1 V^1 doubling earlier mentioned as characteristically verbal, and unadjectivisable (under Usage 5).

The seventh use again is qua invariant participle in an adverbial phrase. Examples of this are: us ke banaae, roTii na banegii. raam ke kiye binaa, mãĩ aap ko nahĩĩ paRhaaũũgaa. Here again the verbal doubled verbform e.g. khaae khaae (not a double verbstem) occurs, but not the other -verbstem-doublings. In these respects, it is like usage six, but usage seven differs from six in not permitting (comfortably) H forms either. This can be related to the independence (in subject and object component co-occurrence) of the participial phrase in seven as opposed to that in six. Sentences of type six could be derived from two kernels K^1 (the embedded sentence) N^1_{sj} V + (the verb being usually intransitive) and K^2 $N^1_{pseudosj}$-ko N^2 V^{in-t} where N^1 is found in both kernels and obligatorily deleted in the embedding. In sentences of type seven, the (transformed) subject of the participle in non-negative sentences cannot be identical with that of the finite verb of the embedding sentence. In negative sentences ('nominalisations with binaa), the subjects can be identical.

Usage six can be treated as part of -not the head- a post-positional complement phrase. The participial phrase in type seven sentences is a freer adverbial phrase (not part of a required complement phrase) and is less restricted in its nominal components. In this it is close to the N-pp adverbial phrase structure noted earlier. Examples of usage eight are aam paRe paRe saR gayaa. raam, thakaa, aa rahaa hai. Participles in type eight sentences can be either in concord with their subjects (which subjects are also the subjects of the finite verbs of the sentences). Two classes of verbs need to be distinguished here, 'verbs of completed action' where the verb participial action 'does not cause or effect the finite verb action', and 'verbs of incomplete action' where the participial verb may or may not effect the V+ action. Examples of these: first, with a verb incomplete action thaknaa 'to be tired') raam, thakaa, aa rahaa hai, and second, with a verb of incomplete action effecting the V+ action (baiThnaa 'to sit) vah baiThe baiThe so gayaa.

Participles of type eight sentences can take H, verb-stem doublings (but V^e not very productively) and for participial derivatives of verbs of incomplete action take participle repetition, e.g., baiThe baiThe and baiThaa baiThaa of both invariant and concordant forms. The repetition (V^1 V^1 doubling) is characteristically verbal and found in usage six, and with the invariant complements of usage five of a participle usage of a participial form as opposed to an adverbial or adjectival usage could profitably distinguish these. These all have cooccurrence limitations on the subject of the participial phrase, can take negations with binaa, can take H - and, more restrictedly - other verbstem doublings. The agreeing participial phrase is found in type eight usages with the verb selection restrictions given above. If the agreeing participial forms are to be considered as characteristic of the embeddings we have called 'participial' (as opposed to adjectival, adverbial, and adjective complementing), we should expect to find agreeing participles in usage six as well. In

fact, we can interpret the invariant forms we find in usage six sentences as agreeing with their N-ko subjects in line with the general concord rules of adjectives preceding N-pp, and this is the simplest analysis of the type six usage. The participle repetitions (V^1 V^1 'doubling') are characteristic of participles and participial derivatives (e.g. the invariant adjective complement usages). These are found in type six and type eight sentences - which are simple participial phrases, and in usage five (3) which is a transform of a participial usage.

mãine use paayaa
मैंने उसे पाया 'I found it (or him, or she)'

mãine khaanaa khaayaa
मैंने खाना खाया 'I ate (the food)'

mãine laRkii ko baharii paayaa
mãine laRkii ko baharaa paayaa
mãine laRkii ko bahare paayaa
मैंने लड़की को बहरी पाया 'I found him (to be) deaf'
मैंने लड़की को बहरा पाया
मैंने लड़की को बहरे पाया

mãine laRkii ko baiThii paayaa
mãine laRkii ko baiThaa paayaa
mãine laRkii ko baiThe paayaa
मैंने लड़की को बैठी पाया 'I found the girl seated'
मैंने लड़की को बैठा पाया
मैंने लड़की को बैठे पाया

yah raastaa meraa calaa claayaa hai
यह रास्ता मेरा चला चलाया है (The same as <u>meraa calaa huaa raastaa</u>)
'I have walked over this road many times.'

acche aam

अच्छे आम

'good mangoes'

aam acche hãi

आम अच्छे हैं

'The mangoes are good'

aam paRe-paRe SaR gayaa

आम पड़े-पड़े सड़ गया ।

'The mango got rotten just sitting there (or lying).'

aam saRe hue hãi

आम सड़े हुए हैं

'The mangoes are rotten'

uske binaa roTii na banegii

उसके बिना रोटी न बनेगी ।

'Without him the bread cannot be made.'

usko dillii gae do mahiine ho gae

उसको दिल्ली गए दो महीने हो गए ।

1) 'It has been two months since he or she went to Delhi.'

2) 'He or she has not been to Delhi for two months.'

usko nahaae do mahiine ho gae

उसको नहाए दो महीने हो गए ।

1) 'It has been two months since he or she bathed.'

2) 'He or she has not bathed for two months.'

usko binaa nahaae do mahiine ho gae

उसको बिना नहाए दो महीने हो गए ।

chaRii uThaae haath
छड़ी उठाए हाथ — 'hand which raised the stick'

choTe-choTe bacce
छोटे-छोटे बच्चे — 'all the little children' (all kinds of little children)

baiThe-baiThe log
बैठे-बैठे लोग — 'seated people'

baiThii
बैठी — 'seated' (f.)

mahãdii race haath
मह्ंदी रचे हाथ — 'henna-smeared hands'

mahãdii haath mẽ racii-
मह्ंदी हाथ में रची । — 'henna smeared on the hand'

meraa khaayaa huaa khaanaa
मेरा खाया हुआ खाना — 'the food which was eaten by me'

meraa calaa huaa raastaa
मेरा चला हुआ रास्ता — The road which I always take (the road or path which is well familiar to me)

maĩ raaste {par[1] / se[2]} calaa
मैं रास्ते (पर १) चला । — 1) 'I walked on the road'
(से २) — 2) 'I walked along the road'

yah raastaa meraa dekhaa dikhaayaa hai

यह रास्ता मेरा देखा दिखाया है — 'This road is well-known to me'

raam ke kiye binaa, maiN aapko nahii paRhaauuNgaa

राम् के किये बिना मैं आपको नहीं पढ़ाऊंगा । — 'Unless Raam does it (or that) I won't teach you.'

raam thakaa, aa rahaa hai

राम थका आ रहा है । — 'Ram is coming tired (out).'

laRkii

लड़की — 'girl'

vah baiThii hai

वह बैठी है । — 'she sat down' or 'she was seated'

vah baiThe-baiThe so gayaa

वह बैठे-बैठे सो गया । — 'He fell asleep, sitting.'

saRe hue

सड़े हुए — 'rotted, rotten'

saRe hue aam

सड़े हुए आम — 'The rotten mangoes'

haath ne chaRii uThaaii

हाथ ने छड़ी उठाई — 'The hand raised the stick'